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R 291053Z SEP 92  
 FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4019  
 INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
 AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS  
 USDAO LILONGWE MI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KAMPALA 05442

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PREL, RW, UG  
 SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR DISCUSSES PROSPECTS FOR ARUSHA IV  
 - WITH RPF REPRESENTATIVE THEOGEN RUDASINGWA

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT

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 2. SUMMARY: RPF REPRESENTATIVE DR. THEOGEN  
 RUDASINGWA MET WITH THE AMBASSADOR ON SEPTEMBER 24 TO  
 DISCUSS THE LATEST ROUND OF ARUSHA TALKS AND THE  
 PROSPECTS FOR THE NEXT ROUND. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT HE  
 SAW GOR INTRANSIGENCE ON THE PRESIDENCY AS THE MOST  
 TROUBLESONE ISSUE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE RPF  
 REMAINS DEEPLY SUSPICIOUS ABOUT PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA  
 AND WANTS TO FIND SOME WAY TO EFFECTIVELY LIMIT HIS  
 AUTHORITY DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. THE RPF REP  
 ASSERTED, HOWEVER, THAT HIS ORGANIZATION IS NOT/NOT  
 PUSHING FOR THE EXCLUSION OF THE MRND OR FOR

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HABYARIMANA TO STEP DOWN DURING THE TRANSITION. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT THE RPF "CAN COMPROMISE" ON QUESTIONS OF LOCAL AUTONOMY, THE ROLE OF THE JUDICIARY AND LEGISLATURE, AND THE STATUS OF THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION. THE AMBASSADOR STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF KEEPING THE PROCESS MOVING FORWARD AND ADHERING TO THE CEASEFIRE. HE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT ALTERNATIVE FORMULAE FOR ESTABLISHING CHECKS ON THE RWANDAN EXECUTIVE COULD BE FOUND. RUDASINGWA RESPONDED THAT THE RPF IS "OPEN TO SUGGESTIONS." END SUMMARY

3. DR. THEOGEN RUDASINGWA, AN RPF NEGOTIATOR AT THE ARUSHA TALKS, DISCUSSED THE STATUS AND PROSPECTS OF RPF-GOR NEGOTIATIONS IN ARUSHA DURING A 90 MINUTE MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR ON SEPTEMBER 24. POLOFF ALSO ATTENDED THE MEETING, WHICH WAS HELD AT THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE. RUDASINGWA WAS IN KAMPALA EN ROUTE TO THE JPMC TALKS IN ADDIS ABABA.

4. RUDASINGWA PROVIDED A READOUT OF RPF VIEWS ON THE  
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RECENTLY-CONCLUDED TALKS ON POWER SHARING DURING THE TRANSITION. HE CHARACTERIZED THE OVERALL TENOR OF THE ARUSHA III TALKS AS "NOT VERY PRODUCTIVE," BUT PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING SUMMARY OF WHERE THE RPF STANDS ON A VARIETY OF POLITICAL ISSUES:

-- ALL THE EXTANT POLITICAL PARTIES IN RWANDA SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE TRANSITION; THE RPF IS NOT SEEKING A DOMINANT ROLE;

-- THE MRND HAS A LEGITIMATE ROLE IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS AND SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED;

-- PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA CAN STAY ON DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD, BUT HIS POWER AND AUTHORITY HAVE TO BE STRICTLY LIMITED;

-- THE CURRENT CONSTITUTION HAS SOME FLAWS, BUT IS GENERALLY WORKABLE AND IS CAPABLE OF SERVING AS THE PRINCIPAL GOVERNING DOCUMENT FOLLOWING THE TRANSITION AND NEW ELECTIONS;

-- THE PEACE AGREEMENT THAT IS ULTIMATELY ACHIEVED SHOULD TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER THE CONSTITUTION DURING

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THE TRANSITION PERIOD;

--- THE RPF FAVORS THE IDEA OF HAVING THE OBSERVER NATIONS SERVE AS GUARANTORS OF ANY PEACE AGREEMENT THAT IS ACHIEVED;

-- THE TRANSITION PERIOD SHOULD BE LONG ENOUGH TO  
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ACCOMPLISH THE REINTEGRATION OF ALL THOSE REFUGEES WHO WISH TO RETURN HOME AND THE AMALGAMATION OF THE ARMED FORCES. IDEALLY, THE RPF WOULD LIKE A FOUR YEAR TRANSITION PERIOD, BUT THIS IS NEGOTIABLE. THE SIX MONTH TRANSITION PROPOSED BY THE GOR IS TOO SHORT TO ACCOMPLISH THE MAIN GOALS OF THE RPF.

5. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT THE MAIN REASON THAT ARUSHA III HAD NOT BEEN PRODUCTIVE WAS BECAUSE THE GOR REFUSED TO AGREE TO A MECHANISM TO CURB THE POWER AND AUTHORITY OF PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA AND TO SHARE EXECUTIVE DECISION-MAKING. RUDASINGWA INSISTED THAT

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FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4020  
INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KAMPALA 05442

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UNDER THE GOR PROPOSALS, HABYARIMANA WOULD CONTINUE TO  
WIELD UNDUE INFLUENCE OVER THE ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT  
AND THAT THE RPF FRANKLY DID NOT TRUST HIM TO BEHAVE  
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RESPONSIBLY. "CABINET SEATS AND REPRESENTATION IN THE  
LEGISLATURE ARE NOT SUFFICIENT," HE SAID, /HEN  
HABYARIMANA EXERCISES SO MUCH CONSTITUTIONAL AND  
UNCONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY. RUDASINGWA EXPLAINED THAT  
THE RPF PROPOSAL FOR A SEVEN MEMBER EXECUTIVE  
"NATIONAL COUNCIL" WAS CALCULATED TO APPEAL TO  
PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA, AS IT WOULD ALLOW HIM TO  
MAINTAIN HIS TITLE AND THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE  
EXECUTIVE. NEITHER THE RPF NOR HABYARIMANA WOULD BE  
PREDOMINANT IN THE "NATIONAL COUNCIL." RUDASINGWA  
DISMISSED THE IDEAS THAT THE RPF WAS INTERESTED IN  
GRABBING POWER OR INSTITUTING A ROTATING PRESIDENCY  
DURING THE TRANSITION.

6. RUDASINGWA STRESSED THAT THE RPF WAS NOT SEEKING  
50-50 REPRESENTATION IN ANY BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT. "WE  
ARE TRYING TO STICK TO REALISTIC PROPOSALS," HE SAID.  
THE COALITION PARTNERS IN THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT COULD  
REMAIN, HE SAID, WHILE THE RPF WOULD SHARE CABINET  
SEATS NOW HELD BY THE MRND. FOR THE LEGISLATURE, HE  
SAID THE RPF HAD SUGGESTED EQUAL REPRESENTATION FOR  
ALL PARTIES, INCLUDING THE RPF, IN A TRIMMED-DOWN

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TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF ABOUT 40 MEMBERS. HE SAID THAT THE RPF OBJECTED TO GOR PRESCRIPTIONS FOR THE JUDICIARY, SAYING THAT SERVICE IN THE RWANDAN LEGAL SYSTEM SHOULD NOT BE A PREREQUISITE FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF NEW JUDGES. RUDASINGWA INDICATED THAT THE RPF DID NOT HAVE RIGID VIEWS ON LOCAL AUTONOMY VERSUS CENTRAL AUTHORITY. ALL QUESTIONS REMAINED NEGOTIABLE, HE SAID, EXCEPT "THE NEED FOR REAL CHECKS AND BALANCES ON THE EXECUTIVE."

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7. THE PRIMACY OF THE TRUCE AGREEMENT OVER THE CURRENT CONSTITUTION OF RWANDA IS A KEY RPF DEMAND, ACCORDING TO RUDASINGWA. WHEN THEY EXAMINED THE CONSTITUTION TO SEE WHAT PARTS COULD BE RETAINED, "WE FOUND THAT THREE-QUARTERS OF THE CLAUSES WOULD HAVE TO GO," HE SAID. NEVERTHELESS, HE RESPONDED POSITIVELY TO THE AMBASSADOR'S SUGGESTION THAT THE REAL PROBLEM WAS NOT THE CONSTITUTION ITSELF, BUT THOSE WHO WERE IN POWER. RUDASINGWA LEFT OPEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE CONSTITUTION MIGHT BE "SUSPENDED" DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD, AND THEN BROUGHT BACK INTO FORCE IN AN AMENDED FORM.

8. THE AMBASSADOR URGED RUDASINGWA NOT TO LET GOR INTRANSIGENCE DRIVE THE RPF FROM THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE STRESSED THAT THE PARTY THAT PULLED OUT OF THE TALKS WOULD HAVE TO BEAR THE BURDEN OF CAUSING THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE CEASEFIRE TO FAIL. FOREIGN OBSERVERS AND PUBLIC OPINION WOULD PROBABLY TURN AGAINST THE PARTY THAT WALKED AWAY FIRST. THE USG, HE SAID, SUPPORTS THE PROCESS AND BELIEVES THAT SOLUTIONS CAN BE FOUND TO THE DIFFERENCES THAT EMERGED AT ARUSHA III. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT "WE WILL NOT BE MANEUVERED INTO FIRING THE FIRST SHOT," AND SAID THAT THE RPF TAKES THE PROCESS SERIOUSLY AND IS OPEN TO SUGGESTIONS FROM ALL PARTIES ON HOW TO RESOLVE THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES.

9. RUDASINGWA EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT WITH FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA'S CLOSING REMARKS, WHICH HE SAID

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BACKTRACKED ON PROGRESS THAT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE  
NEGOTIATIONS. HE SAID THAT THE RPF RECOGNIZED THE  
FONMIN'S "DELICATE POSITION," BUT SAID THAT NOT ALL OF  
NGULINZIRA'S RECENT HARD-LINE STATEMENTS COULD BE  
ATTRIBUTED TO HIS NEED TO ACCOMODATE HABYARIMANA AND  
THE MRND-LED GOVERNMENT. RUDANSINGWA WAS PARTICULARLY  
EXERCISED THAT NGULINZIRA SPECIFICALLY RULED OUT A/Y  
COMPROMISE ON THE PRESIDENCY. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT  
THE PRINCIPAL WORRY OF THE RPF GOING INTO ARUSHA IV IS  
THAT IT WILL BE EXPECTED TO BOW TO "UNACCEPTABLE  
DEMANDS" OF THE GOVERNMENT IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE AN  
AGREEMENT. HE ARGUED AGAIN THAT HABYARIMANA IS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 KAMPALA 05442

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR DISCUSSES PROSPECTS FOR ARUSHA IV

UNTRUSTWORTHY AND THAT SOME CONTROLS WOULD HAVE TO BE  
PUT IN PLACE TO OVERCOME PRESIDENTIAL OBSTINACY.

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11. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT THE RPF IS OPEN TO OUR IDEAS  
AND SUGGESTIONS ON BRIDGING SOME OF THE ISSUES AT  
ARUSHA IV. HE WILL BE PASSING BACK THROUGH KAMPALA  
PRIOR TO PROCEEDING TO ARUSHA, AND WE WOULD BE HAPPY  
TO PRESS OUR LATEST THINKING ON HIM. HE PROMISED TO  
CALL THE AMBASSADOR WHEN HE FLIES IN FROM ETHIOPIA.

12. COMMENT: DR. RUDASINGWA'S ASSESSMENT OF  
ARUSHA III DOVETAILS WITH REPORTING WE HAVE SEEN FROM  
OTHER POSTS. HIS COMMENTS CONFIRM THE RPF'S DEEP  
SUSPICION, IF NOT OUTRIGHT PARANOIA, OF PRESIDENT  
HABYARIMANA. WHILE THE RPF LEADERSHIP IS PREPARED TO  
LET HABYARIMANA REMAIN AS TITULAR PRESIDENT, IT IS  
DETERMINED TO STRIP AWAY MOST OF HIS EXECUTIVE POWERS  
DURING THE TRANSITION. THIS POINT SEEMS FAR MORE  
IMPORTANT TO THE RPF THAN THE SIZE OF THE CABINET OR  
THE LEGISLATURE, OR WHETHER THE CURRENT CONSTITUTIONAL  
STRUCTURES MUST BE REPLACED. DESPITE THE RPF'S

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DISTASTE FOR HABYARIMANA, THEY SEEM TO RECOGNIZE THAT  
THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO TURN THEIR BATTLEFIELD GAINS  
INTO AN OUTRIGHT RPF POLITICAL TAKEOVER. RUDASINGWA  
STRESSED THAT THE RPF KNOWS IT HAS TO SHARE POWER IN  
AN EQUITABLE MANNER. END COMMENT

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